

“Catholic Reform” in Germany and in the Pre-1560 Church in Scotland

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In his important study of the Reformation in Germany, Joseph Lortz defined “Catholic reform” in “a wide sense”. The chief work of Catholic reform, he wrote, consisted in the emergence of a more intensive Catholic life, which found a closer link with the objective authority and sacramental holiness of the church. This reform went “hand in hand with the increasing sense of one’s own guilt and the threatening danger from the enemy”.¹ For present purposes, however, this definition might possibly be widened to include the early efforts of Hermann von Wied, Archbishop of Cologne, which are most clearly evidenced in his reforming provincial council of 1536, described by Lortz as “probably the most important German synod before Trent”.² Indeed, much of this paper is concerned with this council at which Johannes Gropper, a doctor in canon law and vicar general of Cologne, was the outstanding figure. He had in 1530, at the diet of Augsburg, played the rôle of a conciliator, and was later to take a significant part in the conferences of the 1540s between Catholics and Lutherans. Subsequently, however, he opposed Hermann von Wied’s collaboration with Melanchthon and Bucer, and remained loyal to the Catholic church. “Catholic reform” might also be understood to include the work of those who, deeply conscious of the evils and abuses within the church, wished to see them eradicated, first, by “conciliar” methods—provincial and diocesan synods effectively carrying out their reforming canons, secondly, by providing a means of improving the educational standards of the parish clergy and the quality of their instruction of their flocks, and, thirdly, by seeking to place the general education of the clergy on a more secure foundation by reviving the theological faculties at the universities. On all sides the low standard of education was admitted to be one of the highest contributing factors to the church’s troubles.

The provincial council held at Cologne in 1536 was attended by a number of very distinguished churchmen. Two years later Gropper arranged for the printing and publishing of its canons to which he added his celebrated *Enchiridion*—or “Handbook of Christian teaching”. The *Canons*, along with the *Enchiridion*, were republished many times and particularly in Paris in 1547³—in fact

1 J. Lortz, *The Reformation in Germany*, trs. R. Walls (London 1968), ii, 113.

2 *Ibid.*, ii, 242.

3 *Canones Concilii Provincialis Coloniensis anno celebrati, M.D. XXXVI* (Paris

after Archbishop Hermann von Wied had abdicated. Two copies at least of this little volume were in St Andrews, one in St Mary's College, and the other which has survived bears the signature of the St Andrews Augustinian and later reformer, John Duncanson.

The Preface, attributed to von Wied describes in conventional language "the dangers and tempests" which assail "the ship of the church", and complains of the inadequate measures that have so far been taken to help it; prayers have been insufficiently fervent; intentions far from pure. The council demanded by the emperor and promised by the pope, had been repeatedly postponed. Hence, it has become necessary to attend without further delay to the needs of the province, beset by so many perils. Just what some of these dangers were soon becomes clear on examining the collection of canons which are arranged under fourteen separate heads and cover virtually every ecclesiastical topic. More important, however, than the abuses condemned are the remedies that are proposed.

Set forth in a masterly and logically consistent order, the thirty six canons of the first section concern the fulfilment of the two traditional duties and responsibilities of the bishops, first in ordaining and instituting "ministers of the Church", and secondly in visiting their dioceses. But in fact only the first of these is dealt with in this section; discussion of the second is put off until the end of the work. These thirty six canons primarily relate to the securing of candidates for the priesthood—men qualified in life and learning—and to seeing that those responsible, as vicars of the church, for their ordination play their part to the full in examining them. The second last canon sums up the council's position, in words that are found in Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, in the *Decretum* and in the *First Book of Discipline*, "It is better for a bishop to have few priests and ministers of the church, who can worthily perform the *Opus Dei*, than many useless men who bring upon the one who ordains them a grave burden".⁴ The second section deals with the life-style of the priests and the high standards that should be required of them in conducting worship, particularly the mass. There should be among them no love of luxury, or of fine clothes, or need of servants. They should not frequent taverns. Reference is continually made to the Scriptures and the early fathers. Further,

1547). The Canons are printed in J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, vol. 32. Ann. 1438-1549 (Paris and Leipzig 1901), cols. 1205-1294.

⁴ *Pars Prima, Capitula xxxv: Et ut cum D. Clemente hoc caput concludamus, melius est episcopo paucos habere sacerdotes ac ecclesiae ministros, qui possint digne opus Dei exercere, quam multos inutiles, qui onus grave ordinatori adducant.* Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 32, col. 1223. P. Lombard, *Sentences*, Book IV, Dist. XXIV, c. III; *Corpus iuris canonici Decretum*, Can. *Tales ad ministerium*, iv, Dist. 23 (Friedberg 1879), i, 81; J. K. Cameron, *The First Book of Discipline* (Edinburgh 1972), 104.

the desire that the breviary be revised and the accounts of the saints replaced by passages of Scripture is strongly expressed.

The thirty one canons of the third section are all directed toward the bettering of the worship of cathedral and collegiate churches. There are numerous regulations about residence, holding of chapters, keeping the peace among the canons and about the improper use that was sometimes made of buildings. Plays, for example, within the churches are forbidden, as also the holding of courts, even ecclesiastical ones. A regulation of particular interest suggests that those who have recently become canons should, with the consent of their chapters, spend some time in the study of letters and in particular of theology in some Christian academy, for the benefit of the church.⁵ Section four, one of the shortest, opens with six canons, drawn mainly from Scriptures on the qualities required in those admitted "ad verbi ministerium et regimen ecclesiarum". The minister, who is the rector, should always reside in his parish, and once presented and admitted he ought not rashly to be moved to some other post. Frequent changes are not considered beneficial.⁶ Those of the mendicant orders who have cure of souls ought to be subject to the bishop. Great emphasis is placed in the fifth part on the life and example of the parish priest. He must avoid everything that detracts from the authority of a pastor.

One of the most significant sections, the sixth, is "On the preaching of the Word of God". There is here marked emphasis on "preaching purely and sincerely the Word of God, according to the tradition of the church and the interpretation of the fathers approved by the Catholic church".⁷ But perhaps the most interesting detail is the promised publication of a little handbook to help the preacher. The canon states: "It is especially incumbent on the preacher that he teach the people in the precepts of the decalogue, the articles of the faith which are contained in the Apostles' creed, the sacraments of the church and an explanation of the Lord's prayer. . . . Thus, that it be a help to inquirers, we will prepare a certain *Enchiridion*, in which we will set out briefly all those things according to the pure teaching of the church; together with some 'common places' suitable for everyone'.⁸

Section seven is entirely devoted to the seven sacraments. Baptism is to be administered "in conspectu ecclesiae in loco

5 *Pars Tertia, Capitula xxi*; Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 32, col. 1238. This should be compared with the *Statutes of the Scottish Church 1225-1559*, ed. D. Patrick (S.H.S., vol. 54, 1907), 198.

6 *Pars Quarta, Capitula xiii*; Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 32, col. 1244. It is interesting to compare this with a similar recommendation of the First Book of Discipline, Cameron, *op. cit.*, 103.

7 *Pars Sexta, Capitula xiii*; Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 32, col. 1252: "Praedicetur pure ac sincere Dei verbum juxta ecclesiasticam traditionem et patrum ab ecclesia catholica approbatorum interpretationem".

sacro".⁹ The doctrine of the Eucharist is simply set out but the word "transubstantiation" is not found.¹⁰ Throughout this section it is emphasised that the people should know and understand all that is taking place, and this matter must ever be uppermost in the mind of the minister.

One of the great abuses in the church was the almost universal demand for money. The council's position is set out briefly in the seven canons of section eight. The sacraments must be available and free to everyone. No fees can be allowed. Nevertheless, the preachers of the Gospel, as the New Testament says, are worthy of their support. They must therefore have enough to sustain a decent life. Where the revenues of a parish church have been appropriated to cathedrals and collegiate churches, there must be sufficient left for the support of the vicars. Abuses, in connection with the exacting of tithes, should be ended; they should be collected by "oeconomi" of the church or other trustworthy men.¹¹

Considerable attention is given to ceremonies, customs, and practices in section nine. Those practices that are old and universally recognised are to be kept. For the rest "what is not against the Catholic faith nor against good custom" may be regarded as matters of indifference. The precepts of the church must, however, not be upheld as ends in themselves but be subject to the requirements of "necessity and mercy".¹² Lent, litanies, rogation days, are all worth keeping. But there is special emphasis on Sunday—"dies dominicus". It is for the hearing of the Word, and the receiving of the Sacraments. There is in fact a complete

8 *Pars Sexta, Capitula xxi*; Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 32, col. 1254: "Et cum praecipue ipsis incumbat, ut plebem erudiant in praeceptis decalogi, articulis fidei, qui symbolo apostolico recensentur, ac ecclesiae sacramentis simul cum explicatione orationis dominicae: (Hic est enim incohationis Christi sermo, quo jacitur fundamentum ab operibus mortuis et fidei in Deum) idcirco ut imperitioribus consulatur, quoddam enchiridion dabimus, in quo brevissime haec omnia secundum sanam et ecclesiasticam doctrinam exponuntur; simul et loci quidam communes ad omnes omnium hominum aetates ac ordines commonitorii inserentur".

9 *Pars Septima, Capitula VII*; Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 32, col. 1257.

10 *Pars Septima, Capitula xiv*; Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 32, col. 1259: "Docendus est itaque populus Christianus certissima fidei credere, quod in hoc sacramento sit verum corpus et verus sanguis Christi Jesu. Neque enim Veritas mentitur, quae apud Mathaeum, Marcum et Lucam, hoc sacramentum instituens ac porrigens, simplicissime dixit. . . . Sic docet Paulus apostolus. . . . Unde consequitur, in eucharistia totum esse Christum, quanquam ibi sit sub ratione cibi et potus. Qui enim tradidit verum corpus et sanguinem, haud dubie tradidit vivum. Quare si credimus in sepulcro divinam naturam non fuisse separatam ab exanimi corpore, quanto magis credemus eam vivo corpore non esse separatam in sacramento?"

11 *Pars Octavo, Capitulae i-vii*; Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 32, cols. 1269-1271.

12 *Pars nona, Capitula i*; Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 32, col. 1271: "Quod enim neque contra fidem catholicam neque contra bonos mores esse vincitur, indifferenter est habendum et pro eorum inter quos vivitur societate servandum". See also *capitulae iv-v*.

canon on Sunday observance.¹³ Thus, the canons show a conservative attitude to customs and practices, yet warn that they are not ends in themselves, and that they must not be used in a superstitious way. The external observance is not important but rather the spiritual meaning and significance.

Section ten is entirely devoted to the Reformation of monasteries and convents. They are regarded as providing an evangelical way of life, the voluntary nature of which is stressed. Love of God must be the only motive for taking vows. Attention must be given to the education of monks. Each monastery must have a pious, learned monk to teach the monks from youth how to meditate on the law of God day and night. There must also be in every monastery a pious and erudite preacher of the Word of God. Further, one canon states that "it would please us [the archbishop] if some of the monks with sufficient ability were sent to the public universities to spend some years there in theological study under the care of the university teachers".¹⁴ The archbishop is fully aware that monasteries were formerly schools of virtue, but alas this is now seldom the case. By strict visitation he plans to have abuses removed.

The seven canons on hospitals and hospices in section eleven show the council's care for the genuine poor and the sick. They are conscious that what is available is often used for other than the proper ends. This abuse must be reformed. It is interesting to note that public begging by the physically strong is to be totally proscribed.¹⁵ There is also condemnation of those who enrich themselves at the expense of the poor.

Nine canons in section 12 are concerned with educational and academic matters. Both church and state need educated men to take the place of those who become old. The young must be brought up in the fear of the Lord and in good discipline. Pupils must be taught in graded classes. Cathedral and collegiate churches must have a theologian to teach the priests and others in the Bible and in those things that concern the cure of souls. Colleges must be set up by the city authorities where none exists. The universities are riddled with heresy and are declining. They must be reformed.

¹³ *Pars nona, Capitulae ix and x*; Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 32, col. 1274: "Nempe, ut tum in unum omnes pariter convenirent ad audiendum verbum domini, ad audiendum quoque sacrum et communicandum".

¹⁴ *Pars Decima, Capitula vii*; Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 32, col. 1279: "Neque nobis displicuerit, ut aliquot ex monachis bonae indolis, ad universitates publicas et bene Christianas aliquot annos theologicis studiis operam navaturi mitterentur; illic tamen non alibi quam in monasteriis seu gymnasiis sub cura et oculis praeceptorum commoraturi, nec bonis ac rectis studiis destinati, mores minime monasticos imbibant ac contrahant".

¹⁵ *Pars undecima, Capitula v*; Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 32, col. 1283: "Sint autem mendicantibus validis non solum hospitalia clausa, sed et publice ac ostiatim mendicare penitus interdictum. Et qui secus agere comperti fuerint, areceantur, ac legalibus nostrisque constitutionibus comprehensis poenis subdantur".

Stipends must be found for poor students. Graduates should always be preferred for vacant benefices. And again, the recommendation is made that suitable canons from Cologne be sent to study theology at a university. In the universities there is much need of learned men to lecture on the best books and in the several disciplines. Finally, there must be a strict censorship of all books; none is to be printed or sold without permission gained after review by official censors.¹⁶

Concern is shown in the thirteenth section for the correct use of ecclesiastical jurisdictional powers, in particular excommunication, which is defended as biblical. It is not to be used lightly, but only after full examination. Clerks who are guilty of breaking the church's laws, e.g. about concubines, are to be punished according to the full rigor of canon law and not allowed a dispensation at a price. Great care is to be taken in the matter of testaments. They must be fully carried out and a return made to the church courts. The residue of intestate priests' possessions is to be put to some good cause. There must be a thorough reform of the whole matter of taking oaths. This section is significantly short, probably because a thorough revision had been put into operation in the archdiocese in 1528.

In the final sections a return is made to the second subject mentioned in the first head—episcopal visitations. Here, in twenty four canons, one finds a variety of instructions. Every area of the church's life is to be subjected to exhaustive inquiry and, if necessary, punishment is to be meted out to offenders. The list of topics to be raised by the visitor of a parish church is extensive.

It is worth mentioning that the canons, despite the extent of their coverage of the provincial council, say nothing at all about the pope, or obedience to him. Papal instructions are referred to on a number of occasions and there are references to canon law, but there is no evidence whatever that suggests that the papacy had a significant rôle to play in the life of the diocese or in its administration.

Some time has been spent in summarising these canons or statutes of 1536 in order that a better understanding may be had of what is meant by "Catholic reform" in Germany prior to the Council of Trent. It would be possible to add considerably to the list of reforms they contain by including the statutes of Valentinus, Bishop of Hildensheim of 1540,¹⁷ or the Constitutions of the Provincial Council of Mainz held in 1549.¹⁸ Those later reforms, particularly the Constitutions of Mainz, are in many ways similar to those of Cologne.

¹⁶ Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 32, cols. 1284-1286.

¹⁷ They are printed in *Canones Concilii Provincialis Coloniensis* (Paris 1547), 53-96.

The holding of provincial councils was a most remarkable feature of Archbishop John Hamilton's tenure of the primatial see of St Andrews. As soon as he became primate he summoned a council to meet at Linlithgow, then another, or possibly a continuation, at Edinburgh in November 1549, then one at St Andrews in January 1552, and finally one in 1559.¹⁹ The question arises almost naturally. Was the archbishop in any way influenced by what had been taking place on the continent? By the time he became Archbishop of St Andrews the Council of Trent had been summoned, indeed had begun its deliberations. Could he not before initiating his reforms have waited until it had concluded?

In 1882 A. F. Mitchell, in the "Historical notice", contributed to the facsimile edition of *Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism* of 1552, drew attention to the international situation as the essential background of the *Catechism*—a "time of compromises and interims". He pointed out that "this German movement", as he calls it, "extended to Scotland" and went on to show that traces of it can be found in the *Catechism*.²⁰ Mitchell, and so far as is known no one since then, suggested that there might be some connection, however vague, between the Cologne Council of 1536 and those of Scotland. To what extent, if any, do the statutes of the Scottish councils reflect those of Cologne and the others already mentioned? Robertson, in his introduction summarises the main contents of the Scottish statutes. There are, of course, the general points, "the corruption, the profane lewdness, the gross ignorance of churchmen of all ranks".²¹ These defects are not significant in themselves for this present discussion, but some of the other reforms, such as the emphasis on preaching to the people, on teaching in cathedrals and abbeys, on sending monks to university, on preventing unqualified persons from receiving orders; the emphasis on the cure of souls, on the examining of vicars and curates, on the registering of testaments, on clandestine marriages, on the teaching of theology, on the provision of a catechism—a manual to help priests in their instruction of the people—the

18 *Constitutiones concili provincialis Moguntini . . . Anno Domini MDXLIX celebrati* (Paris 1550). A copy of this book, which contains Michael von Helsing's *Institutio ad pietatem Christianam in concilio provinciali promissa continens*, an explanation of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Angelical Salutation, the Decalogue and the Sacraments—and which belonged in 1551 to Edmund Hay, then a regent in St Salvator's College, St Andrews—is in the University Library, St Andrews; see further J. Durkan and A. Ross, *Early Scottish libraries* (Glasgow 1961), 112; Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 32, cols. 1399-1440.

19 D. Patrick, *Statutes of the Scottish Church*, pp. lxxvff., 84ff.; cf. Herkless and R. K. Hannay, *The Archbishops of St Andrews* (Edinburgh 1915), v, 52ff.

20 A. F. Mitchell, *The Catechism set forth by Archbishop Hamilton* (Edinburgh 1882), pp. viiff.

21 *Concilia Scotiae; Ecclesiae Scoticae Statuta . . . MCCXXV—MDLIX* (Edinburgh 1864), p. cxlix.

abolition of compulsory church fees—have a familiar ring, and seem to echo repeatedly the canons of the German councils. No direct verbal borrowings from the German councils have so far been discovered. Nevertheless, the way in which the subjects are dealt with leaves little room for doubt, even if no record remained that the 1549 Paris edition of the Canons of Cologne and the 1550 edition of the Mainz *Constitutions* were known in St Andrews. There seems to be at least two striking parallels to both provincial councils—first, the regulations about sending clerks and monks to the universities to study theology, and, secondly, the provision of a manual of instruction for use by the parish priests, both agreed on in St Andrews in 1552. It is further interesting to note that the Cologne canon on the authorisation of all printed books, paralleled at Mainz, has also a parallel in an act of the Scottish parliament of February 1552, “Anent Prentaris”. The censors were, according to the act, to be appointed by the ordinaries.²²

The Scottish link with German “Catholic reform”, and in particular with Gropper’s *Enchiridion*, has of course been well known since Mitchell’s preface to *Hamilton’s Catechism*. As a result of his comparison of the *Enchiridion*, which, as was seen, was forecast in the Cologne Council of 1536, and the *Catechism*, he wrote:

“I can hardly doubt that the compilers of the latter [*Archbishop Hamilton’s Catechism*] had consulted the former [Gropper’s *Enchiridion*] and made large use of it, or of some previous treatise from which it may also be drawn.”²³

It is unnecessary to go into details. There is no doubt that Mitchell was thorough and, although there are points of difference, the similarities are so great as to “help us to determine the school of divines to which the compilers must have belonged”,²⁴ or rather a school of divines by which they were most strongly influenced. If, as T. G. Law maintained in his introduction to his edition, “The *Catechism* reflects the most approved theology of the Scottish church at the time”,²⁵ then that theology was essentially that of Gropper’s *Enchiridion*, which Dom Leclercq in his edition of Hefele, *Histoire des Conciles*, has described as “non sans inexactitudes, surtout d’après la tendance des certains théologiens qui cherchaient une position mitoyenne. C’est ce qu’on appela le semi-lutheranisme”.²⁶ Jedin, however, wrote that “it has been

22 *Pars Duodecima, Capitula ix*; Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 32, col. 1286, c. XCIX col. 1436; *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* (1814), ii, 488f.

23 Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. xii.

24 Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. xiv.

25 T. G. Law, *The Catechism of John Hamilton* (Oxford 1884), p. xxix.

26 Vol. 8, p. 1247.

described as 'the most complete dogmatic treatise of pre-Tridentine theology' ".²⁷

The statutes of the Scottish provincial councils, together with the *Catechism* go a very long way indeed towards indicating that the Archbishop of St Andrews and his leading theologians and canonists were fully aware of what was happening in the Archdiocese of Cologne and elsewhere in Germany and, while still considering themselves loyal to the church and able to incorporate in their statutes decisions of the Council of Trent, were seeking a "Catholic reform" along contemporary German lines, in the hope no doubt of being able to save the day and preserve the unity of the church within its traditional structure.

As well as the holding of provincial councils and the publication of the *Catechism*, Hamilton's tenure of the see of St Andrews is marked by his re-founding of St Mary's College in St Andrews. How far, if at all, was Hamilton influenced by plans that were being put forward on the continent by Catholic reformers for the revival of theological education?²⁸

There is no doubt, as Lortz has pointed out, that an essential element in pre-Tridentine Catholic reform (as well as Tridentine reform) was the "attempt to form a new type of clergy by specially fostering the coming generation of priests. The principle that quality is the keynote of all reformation was accepted; better a few worthy and competent men than a large number of mediocrities".²⁹ We have already noted how this was expressed in the canons of Cologne. From the statutes of the Scottish provincial Councils and from evidence provided by other sources, this was also the most pressing need of the church in Scotland. "Catholic reform" meant renewal among the clergy, and that renewal required the revival of the theological faculties, which had in many places virtually ceased. During the 1540s in Cologne University there was only one master who taught theology occasionally, and at times theological lectures had stopped completely, even although Cologne was first in the field against Luther in 1517. Lortz gives some remarkable details about the lack of theological teaching. "Catholic theologians", he wrote "everywhere were themselves reading these [heretical] books and were getting into a state of utter theological confusion".³⁰ One should also note that in the reform proposals of the Augsburg Interim strong emphasis was placed on reforming the clergy, for example by a strict examination of candidates for ordination. And prominence was given to the

27 H. Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent*, trans. E. Graf (London 1957), i, 406.

28 On the earlier history of St Mary's College see my forthcoming, *St Mary's College*.

29 Lortz, *op. cit.*, ii, 118.

30 *Ibid.*, ii, 134

concept of the clergy as pastors, pluralities were forbidden, and at the same time a reasonable support for priests upheld. But above all, the raising of the standard of theological education—especially the revival of scriptural studies was regarded as something of supreme importance.

Hermann von Wied, in his Reformation programme, put forward in the early 1540s by Bucer and Melancthon (and subsequently translated into Latin and English in 1547), planned to erect for the betterment of the clergy a school of divinity at Bonn for the teaching of “the holy scriptures and other good learning”.³¹ This college was to have seven professors. The first, a professor of divinity, was to teach both the Old Testament and the New, and his teaching was to agree with “the doctrine and meaning of the true and Catholic church of Christ”. As principal reader he was to be a superintendent in the church and as rector of the school was to be responsible for the well-being of other professors and the students. The second professor or reader was also to teach the Scriptures and the Hebrew tongue; the third was to teach logic and Greek—Aristotle’s *Logic*; the fourth was to profess rhetoric and moral philosophy; the fifth was to read grammar to those who had not been properly prepared; the sixth to read mathematics and natural philosophy; the seventh to be a lawyer who was to expound the *Institutions* of Justinian.³² Undoubtedly this scheme owes much to the educational developments that had been taking place in Strasbourg and elsewhere.

Archbishop Hamilton’s “New Foundation” for St Mary’s College is set out in more traditional form, yet the basic pattern is the same. Hamilton’s St Mary’s was to be essentially a school of divinity, which would seek to give to the church the well educated priests and pastors it so much lacked. It was to have seven founded masters and two junior teachers. At its head was a theologian who was to teach the Scriptures and be responsible for the running of the college, the second and third masters were also to teach theology from the books (but probably the Scriptures are not intended here but rather the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard). The fourth master, the seventh at Bonn, was to be a lawyer, but at St Mary’s he was to be a canonist not a civilist. St Mary’s was to have three professors of philosophy—these correspond to Bonn’s third and fourth readers—and a grammarian and rhetorician. There are, again not unexpectedly, similar regulations about the divinity disputations, the assigning of hours for teaching and the making of regulations for the life of the college. St Mary’s was planned on a

31 See further, J. K. Cameron, “The Cologne Reformation and the Church of Scotland” in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 30 (1979), 39-64.

32 Hermann von Wied, *A Simple and Religious Consultation*, London 1548, fols. cclxvi-cclxix.

larger scale and was to follow a more traditional pattern.³³ Nevertheless, the idea of providing a college of divinity was an essential part of the respective reform programmes. Whether the Cologne reform programme was actually in the minds of those who drew up Hamilton's foundation charter is debatable. What can be said, however, is that some eight years later when the *First Book of Discipline* was being drawn up and particularly its celebrated sections on education, its authors, among whom were Douglas and Wynram, earlier supporters of the archbishop's reforms, undoubtedly knew it and used it.³⁴

The statutes of provincial councils, the *Catechism*, and the re-foundation of St Mary's College, together demonstrate that the archbishop and his theologians and canonists were advocates of "Catholic reform" and that as reformers they should be aligned with their counterparts in Cologne and Mainz in the 1530s and 1540s.

Further support for this conclusion can be found in at least some of the appointments Hamilton made to the staff of his college. John Douglas certainly had the support of humanist reforming circles in Paris, and there were others, like John Rutherford and William Skene, with similar backgrounds, who came to St Andrews, were incorporated in the college and, like Douglas, found no difficulty in accepting the Reformation in 1559. Two others might also be mentioned—both Englishmen, one Richard Smith, who had at first accepted the Henrician Reformation in England and yet held firmly to the doctrine of transubstantiation. He subsequently returned to the main stream of Catholic thought and became head of the college at Douai. The other was Richard Marshall, Dominican Prior of Newcastle, who fled to Scotland and was for a time prominent in St Andrews and in St Mary's College. Dr Durkan has provided evidence that shows that Marshall is almost certainly to be regarded as the "author" of Archbishop Hamilton's *Catechism*. Both Smith and Marshall may well have come to St Andrews precisely because they regarded it as a centre of "Catholic" as opposed to "Protestant" reform.³⁵

Statements about Hamilton in near contemporary writings and his own attitude to the Reformation when it took place should also be taken into consideration. Knox wrote about Hamilton's reputation when he returned from France in 1543, along with David Panter: "The bruit of the learning and uprychtines in religion was such that great esperance there was, that thair presence should haif bene comfortable to the Kirk of God. For it was constandlye affirmed of some, that without delay, the one and

33 See further my forthcoming *St Mary's College*.

34 *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 30 (1979), 59ff.

35 See further my forthcoming *St Mary's College*.

the other wald occupy the pulpete, and trewly preach Jesus Christ".³⁶

Support for this favourable disposition towards reform might be found in Hamilton's behaviour in 1560 at the Reformation parliament. On being asked about the *Confession of Faith*, he requested more time to consider it. The archbishop, it is said, was not prepared either to condemn or to consent to it.³⁷ Did he still hope for a more moderate, a somewhat less violent, reformation? It is in this light that one should perhaps read Spottiswoode's record of the message Hamilton sent to Knox, and which then becomes, at the least, plausible. Hamilton is reported to have said that Knox "had innovated many things and made a reformation in the doctrines of the Church whereof he could not deny but there was some reason; yet he would do wisely to retain the old policy which had been the work of many ages, or then put a better in place thereof, before he did shake off the other".³⁸ Further, on 7th October, Randolph reported to Cecil that Arran had written that the "bishop of St Andrews is like to become a good protestant—has already given over his Mass and received the common prayers". Randolph, however, was not hopeful of his conversion.³⁹ Too much must not be made of these reports, but they have their interest.

That Archbishop Hamilton wished to see the church reformed along the lines of a "Catholic reformation" is not in doubt. That he had among his theologians and canonists those who shared that aspiration is, likewise, not in doubt. Yet there were other advantages in advocating a reform of this type. It was in the Hamilton family interest to seek a measure of reform that would hold the church and the country together, and at the same time take some of the strength out of the protestant demands as well as weaken its divisive potential. Calderwood recorded that, in 1558, "the popish faction began to draw certain articles of reconciliation, promising to the professors [protestants] if they would admit the mass to stand in the former reverence and estimation, grant purgatory after this life, confess prayer to the saints and for the dead, and suffer them to enjoy their rents, honours and possessions, that they would grant liberty to pray and baptize in the vernacular tongue, so that it were done secretly and not in open assembly".⁴⁰

Compromise with the more moderate in the protestant

36 D. Laing, *The Works of John Knox* (Edinburgh 1846), i, 105.

37 G. Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation* (Cambridge 1960), 55ff.; Herkless and Hannay, *The Archbishops of St Andrews*, v, 130ff.

38 Herkless and Hannay, *op. cit.*, v, 135ff.

39 *CSP Scot.* i, no. 911, p. 486; Herkless and Hannay, *op. cit.*, v, 134.

40 D. Calderwood, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*, ed. T. Thomson (Wodrow Society, Edinburgh 1842), i, 414.

reforming party would undoubtedly have strengthened the position of the Hamiltons in their attempts to secure the leading rôle of their house in the government of the country, should Scotland in the future be ruled by an absent sovereign in France as seemed most likely at that time. It is perhaps not altogether fanciful to suggest that the archbishop saw himself cast in a rôle similar to that of a German prince bishop such as the Archbishop of Cologne and envisaged carrying through a programme of Catholic reform that would have maintained the traditional structure of the church virtually intact, met the most pressing needs for educational and moral reformation among the clergy, satisfied the more moderate advocates of reform, and at the same time maintained the religious unity of the church so essential for preserving the unity of the kingdom. A programme of "Catholic reform" had much to offer the archbishop and the house of Hamilton.

